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"It is Difficult to be Indifferent to One's Roots": Taizhou Sojourners and Flood Relief during the 1920s*

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Abstract

In July 1920, Taizhou prefecture in eastern Zhejiang was devastated by a series of catastrophic floods that killed thousands of men, women, and children, with tens of thousands more left homeless and facing imminent death from disease and malnutrition. In

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* This article is dedicated to the memory of Professor Frederic Wakeman, Jr. (魏斐德教授; 1937-2006) and Professor Liu Kwang-Ching (劉廣京; 1921-2006), whose research on the history of modern China has long proved inspirational for my colleagues and myself. The data presented below represents the results of a research project funded by the National Science Council （國科會; NSC 92-2411-H-001-060）. A preliminary version of this paper was presented at the bi-weekly seminar of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica. I am deeply grateful to the three discussants, Chang Chien-ch'iu 張建俅, Li Ta-chia 李達嘉, and Lien Ling-ling 連玲玲, as well as other members of the audience, for their many constructive comments and suggestions. Many thanks as well to my colleagues in our Institute's Research Group on Urban History（城市史研究群）– Chang Ning 張寧, Li Ta-chia, Lien Ling-ling, Lin May-li 林美莉, Sun Huei-min 孫慧敏, and Wu Jen-shu 巫仁恕 – for providing useful materials and assistance. I have also benefited from e-mail exchanges with Kathryn Edgerton-Tarpley, Feng Xiaocai 馮筱才, Joanna Handlin Smith, Andrea Janku, Lillian M. Li, and Peter Zarrow. Thanks also to my research assistant, Wang Ho-an 王和安, for his help in sorting through and retyping the contents of some of the sources that I collected. Finally, a profound note of gratitude to the *Bulletin*'s two anonymous reviewers, as well as its Editorial Board and editorial staff.
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response, sojourning Taizhou elites in Shanghai formed the Association of Shanghai's Taizhou Natives [to Provide] Emergency Flood Relief, and worked with central government, provincial, and local officials, as well as other charitable organizations, to raise over 450,000 dollars and send shipments of rice and clothing to flood-stricken areas. When further calamities struck Taizhou in 1929, many of these elites gathered together a second time to form the Association for Emergency Relief of Taizhou's Disasters, raising over 60,000 dollars in a coordinated drive to save as many victims as possible.

This paper's primary goal is to examine the extent to which modern Chinese charity shaped the relationship between state and society. In contrast to previous research on elite activism, which, being largely concerned with civil society and the public sphere, has argued that such activism operated autonomously outside the sphere of state influence, this paper clearly shows that Taizhou elites residing in Shanghai were not averse to cooperating with the state in order to provide rapid and effective relief. Another key issue involves the problem of change and continuity. While the technology of disaster relief changed dramatically during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many elites continued to feel a profound sense of native-place identity that prompted them to devote considerable time and resources to organizing disaster relief for their native places. Moreover, despite the prominence of Christian charity in disaster relief efforts, many Chinese elites continued to be motivated by faith in Buddhism.

Keywords: disaster relief, native-place identity, elites, Taizhou, Shanghai

Introductory Remarks

During the month of July 1920, Taizhou 台州 prefecture in eastern Zhejiang 浙江 was devastated by a series of catastrophic floods that killed thousands of men, women, and children, with tens of thousands more left homeless and facing imminent death from disease and malnutrition. As the recent series of natural disasters in South Asia and the United States have so dramatically revealed, rapid and coordinated relief efforts by both governments and private charitable organizations are essential for ensuring the well-being of survivors. In the case of Taizhou, relief was organized by sojourning elites in Shanghai, who formed the Association of Shanghai's Taizhou Natives [to Provide] Emergency Flood Relief (Lü Hu Taishu shuizai jizhenhui 旅滬台屬水災急賑會) in August, 1920.[1] These elites worked with central government, provincial, and local officials, as well as other charitable organizations, to raise over 450,000 dollars (*yangyuan* 洋元) in just four months time, and sent shipments of rice and clothing to flood-stricken areas from November 1920 to June 1921. When further calamities struck Taizhou in 1929, many of these elites gathered together a second time to form the Association for Emergency Relief of Taizhou's Disasters (Taizai jizhenhui 台災急賑會), raising over 60,000 dollars in a coordinated drive to save as many victims as possible.

This paper is based on two rare books about the 1920-1921 and 1929 flood relief efforts that I discovered in Zhejiang's libraries.[2] One text, preserved in the Linhai Library (Linhai tushuguan 臨海圖書館) in Taizhou, is a two-volume collection

1 The sources that I have used contain both "賑" and "振". However, in the interests of consistency, I have used "賑" throughout this article.

2 I am very grateful to the following colleagues in Zhejiang for their help in collecting these sources: Cheng Xiaolan 程小瀾, Ding Hong 丁紅, Lian Xiaoming 連曉鳴, Xu Hongtu 徐宏圖, and Xu Sanjian 徐三見.

published in 1921, entitled *Reports of the Association of Shanghai's Taizhou Natives [to Provide] Emergency Flood Relief* (*Lü Hu Taishu shuizai jizhenhui baogaoshu* 旅滬台屬水災急賑會報告書; hereafter referred to as the *Reports*). The *Reports* contains descriptions of catastrophic flooding in Taizhou prefecture, copies of telegrams sent and received in the course of organizing disaster relief, accounts of fund-raising drives, reports about shipments of aid, and the names of Taizhou elites who helped organize the collection and distribution of money and supplies. In addition, the Zhejiang Provincial Library (Zhejiang sheng tushuguan 浙江省圖書館) contains a 1929 text entitled *Extraordinary Disasters in Taizhou, Zhejiang* (*Zhejiang Taishu qizai* 浙江台屬奇災; hereafter referred to as *Extraordinary Disasters*), which was published by the Association for Emergency Relief in order to publicize the plight of disaster victims. This text lists the names of Taizhou and other Zhejiang elites who supported the relief effort, and provides moving photographs of the devastation and disaster victims. Both works also feature prefaces (*xu* 序) written by the elites who led these associations, which provide important clues about their motives for taking part in such charitable activities. Further detail may be found in the numerous newspaper reports published in *Shenbao* 申報 and *The North-China Herald*. For comparative purposes, I have also read news accounts of flood relief undertaken in Ningbo 寧波 in 1921 by the Ningbo Association to Provide Emergency Flood Relief (Ningbo shuizai jizhenhui 寧波水災急賑會), and examined a second rare book from the Zhejiang Provincial Library entitled *Reports of the Association for Organizing Relief in Zhejiang for the Flood of 1922* (*Zhejiang renxu nian shuizai chouzhenhui baogao* 浙江壬戌年水災籌賑會報告).[3]

3 The Association for Organizing Flood Relief in Zhejiang differed from the aforementioned organizations in providing relief to a broad geographic area covering a total of 37 counties. Its composition reflected this reality, with 14 members being from Hangxian 杭縣, 10 from Shaoxing 紹興, 4 from Xiaoshan 蕭山, etc. For an overview of charitable activities undertaken by Zhejiang merchants in Shanghai, see 陶水木，〈北洋政府時期旅滬浙商的慈善活動〉，《浙江社會科學》，2005 年第 5 期，頁 177-182. Tao mentions

This paper's primary goal is to examine the extent to which modern Chinese charity shaped the relationship between state and society. For example, because Mary Rankin's classic study of elite activism is largely concerned with the supposed development of civil society and the public sphere during the late Qing, her analysis tends to stress the ways in which such activism (including charity) operated autonomously outside the sphere of state influence.[4] Other scholars have focused their attentions on the growth of a "modern Chinese merchant class" that ended up assuming control over functions once managed almost exclusively by the state, including disaster relief.[5] For example, Mark Elvin and Wu Tao 吳滔 treat charity as a merely one of many phenomena that can be used to explain the growth of local autonomy movements (*difang zizhi yundong* 地方自治運動) in modern China.[6] One of the most thoroughgoing formulations of such a scholarly agenda may be found in the work of Marie-Claire Bergère, who argues for the "rise of Chinese capitalism",

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some of the sources described in this article (see esp. p. 178), but does not discuss their contents in detail.

4 Mary B. Rankin, *Elite Activism and Political Transformation in China, Zhejiang Province, 1865-1911* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), pp. 143-147. See also R. Keith Schoppa, *Chinese Elites and Political Change: Zhejiang Province in the Early Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982).

5 See for example 朱英，〈論清末民初社會與國家的發展演變〉，《中國近代史》，2005 年第 10 期，頁 21-27；馮筱才，〈民初江南慈善組織的新變化：蘇城隱貧會研究〉，《史學月刊》，2003 年第 1 期，頁 87-94; 馮筱才，《在商言商：政治變局中的江浙商人》（上海：上海社會科學院出版社，2004）; 陶水木，《浙江商幫與上海經濟近代化研究：1840-1936》（上海：上海三聯書店，2000），頁 212-215; Wellington K. K. Chan, *Merchants, Mandarins, and Modern Enterprise in late Ch'ing China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), pp. vii, 213; Joseph Fewsmith, *Party, State, and Local Elites in Republican China: Merchant Organizations and Politics in Shanghai, 1890-1930* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985), p. 23; Bryna Goodman, *Native Place, City, and Nation: Regional Networks and Identities in Shanghai, 1853-1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), pp. 9-13, 145-146; Zhang Jiayan (張家炎), "Water Calamities and Dike Management in the Jianghan 江漢 Plain in the Qing and Republic," *Late Imperial China* 27:1 (2006), pp. 66-108.

6 Mark Elvin, "The Administration of Shanghai, 1905-1914," in Mark Elvin and G. William Skinner, eds., *The Chinese City between Two Worlds* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), pp. 239-262; 吳滔，〈清代江南社區賑濟與地方社會〉，《中國社會科學》，2001 年第 2 期，頁 181-191; 吳滔，〈清至民初嘉定寶山地區分廠傳統之轉變——從賑濟饑荒到鄉鎮自治〉，《清史研究》，2004 年第 2 期，頁 1-16。

and views the growth of the Chinese bourgeoisie during the Republican era as a good example of "Confucian-style modernization".[7] In a recent review article, she also postulates that state authority nearly disappeared during early Republican era, and that success of Shanghai bourgeoisie was largely due to the decline of this power.[8]

The above arguments are not without merit, and have served to clarify the overall significance of Chinese charity during the modern era. At the same time, however, this scholarship seems to be based on the assumption that the interaction between state and society resembled a zero-sum game, with the decline of one side's influence providing a vacuum for the other side to fill. Thus, while Rankin rightly stresses the importance of the "extrabureaucratic management" of relief efforts to provide succor for disaster victims who were not from one's native place, her emphasis on the "voluntary" and "independent" nature of modern Chinese charity tends to overlook the on-going interaction between elite-sponsored associations and the state in order to provide disaster relief. In contrast, data to be presented below clearly shows that Taizhou elites residing in Shanghai were not averse to cooperating with the state in order to provide rapid and effective relief. Moreover, the increasing capability of modern China's urban elites to organize large-scale relief efforts that in imperial times had been almost exclusively the state's prerogative did not result in the separation of elite activism and state-sponsored relief.

The interaction between state and society also shaped the geographic scope of modern Chinese charity. Much scholarship on this topic has tended to stress its importance at the regional and national levels,[9] largely overlooking the fact that local

7 Marie-Claire Bergère, *The Golden Age of the Chinese Bourgeoisie, 1911-1937*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 140, 185-186.

8 Marie-Claire Bergère, "Civil Society and Urban Change in Republican China," in Frederic Wakeman, Jr., and Richard Louis Edmonds, eds., *Reappraising Republican China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 68-69, 71.

9 See for example Susan Mann, "The Ningpo Pang (幫) and Financial Power in Shanghai," in Mark Elvin

and native place relief efforts continued unabated. In order to provide a more comprehensive picture of the geographic scope of modern Chinese charity, particularly in the context of state-society interactions, I have developed the following tentative typology: 1) Charity for fellow sojourners; 2) Charity for one's native place; 3) Charity at the provincial level; 4) Trans-regional charity; 5) Charity for entire nation.[10] The evidence that has been collected on the history of Chinese charitable activities suggests that all of these forms of charity existed by the late imperial era, but #1-2 tended to be the responsibility of local elites, while the state took charge of organizing #3-5.[11] By the late nineteenth century, urban elites had started to become involved in #3-5, a trend that scholars usually take to be the advent of modern Chinese charity. While this view has merit, it also overlooks the fact that elites continued to feel committed to #1-2 as well. In addition, despite the seeming devolution of state power during the late Qing and Republican eras, the state never fully abdicated its role of providing financial and logistical support for all forms of disaster relief. Thus, the

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and G. William Skinner, eds., *The Chinese City between Two Worlds* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), pp. 73-74; 李文海、朱滸，〈義和團運動時江南紳商對戰爭難民的社會救助〉，《清史研究》，2004 年第 2 期，頁 18、23; 周秋光、曾桂林，〈近代慈善事業與中國東南社會變遷(1895-1949)〉，《史學月刊》，2002 年第 11 期，頁 87-92。

10 This typology is based on the work of Bryna Goodman, who distinguishes between charity for sojourners, charity for fellow-provincials at home, and charity for people not linked to one's native place. See Goodman, *Native Place, City, and Nation*, pp. 11, 121-122. Tao Shuimu 陶水木 makes a similar distinction in his recent article 〈北洋政府時期旅滬浙商的慈善活動〉，《浙江社會科學》，2005 年第 5 期，頁 177-182. See also Joanna F. Handlin Smith, "Chinese Philanthropy as Seen through a Case of Famine Relief in the 1640s," in Warren F. Ilchman et. al., eds., *Philanthropy in the World's Traditions* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), pp. 137, 145, 152.

11 I would like to thank Wu Jen-shu 巫仁恕 for his help in formulating this analysis. For more on state-sponsored relief during the Qing, see Pierre-Etienne Will, *Bureaucracy and Famine in Eighteenth-century China*, trans. Elborg Forster (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990); Pierre-Etienne Will & R. Bin Wong, *Nourish the People: The State Civilian Granary System in China, 1650-1850*, Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies, no. 60 (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1991). See also Lillian M. Li and Alison Dray-Novey, "Guarding Beijing's Food Security in the Qing Dynasty: State, Market, and Police," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 58:4 (November 1999), pp. 992-1032.

data to be presented below reveals that Zhejiang elites who lived in Shanghai during the 1920s continued to organize substantial relief efforts for their native places, and took the initiative in seeking state support.

I would also argue that research on state-society interaction in modern China charity needs to take account of the distinction between disaster relief (*zhenzai* 賑災 or *jiuzai* 救災) and social welfare (*shehui fuli* 社會福利).[12] In its broadest definition, the term "charity" encompasses a wide range of charitable activities (*cishan huodong* 慈善活動) that involve showing benevolence or generosity towards others, including the provision of help or relief to the poor. Thus, charity includes the provision of food, clothing, and shelter for the victims of natural calamities, as well as long-term care for the poor and other unfortunate beings in the form of schools, hospitals, orphanages, etc. Previous research on modern Chinese charity has suffered the limitation of focusing on just one type of philanthropic activity, be it the operations of charitable/benevolent associations (*shanhui* 善會) and charitable halls (*shantang* 善堂) or the efforts of relief associations formed in the immediate aftermath of calamities. Considering the wide range of charitable activities in modern China, as well as being aware of the distinction between disaster relief and social welfare, can help us better appreciate the diverse forms of state-society interaction that characterized Chinese charity during the modern era. For example, while urban elites could plan for and manage long-term charitable and social welfare projects, the horrific impact of a large-scale natural disaster caused these same elites to rely on at least some official aid in order to provide relief to large numbers of victims in the shortest possible amount of time. Thus, while this paper does not attempt to refute the conclusions of previous scholars, it does argue in favor of reassessing the

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12 Joanna F. Handlin Smith formulated this distinction in her classic study "Benevolent Societies: The Reshaping of Charity during the Late Ming and Early Ch'ing," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 46:2 (1987), p. 310.

nature and impact of elite-organized disaster relief during the Republican era in the context of the many forms of charity that were undertaken during this period of time.

Another key issue involves the problem of change and continuity. During the past two decades, much research on various forms of charity undertaken in late nineteenth and early twentieth century China has tended to emphasize the originality of such activities. Perhaps the most systematic formulation of this view has been proposed by Zhou Qiuguang 周秋光, who uses terms like "modern" (*jindai* 近代) and "improved" (*jinbu* 進步) to characterize modern Chinese charitable activities, and labels as "superstition" (*mixin* 迷信) what he views as conservative ideas presented by some late-Qing philanthropists.[13] Other scholars rely on a bifurcation between *jiao* 教 (schools, education) and *yang* 養 (sustenance), arguing that by the modern era the former type of charity had begun to take precedence over the latter.[14] Such dichotomies may have some value as analytic devices for understanding historical change, yet when applied to modern Chinese charity they tend to distort the continuity inherent in such activities even during periods of dramatic change. In one clear example of this problem, Zhou argues for the decline of traditional charitable organizations, especially *shantang* 善堂, due to the rise of "modern charity" based on models provided by Western missionaries,[15] despite convincing evidence to the contrary in the work of Fan Chunwu 范純武, Fuma Susumu 夫馬進, Joanna Handlin

13 See 周秋光、曾桂林，〈近代慈善事業與中國東南社會變遷(1895-1949)〉，頁 84-94。See also 周秋光，〈民國時期社會慈善事業研究芻議〉，《湖南師範大學社會科學學報》，1994 年第 3 期，頁 103-109；朱英，〈經元善與晚清慈善公益事業的發展〉，《華中師範大學學報（人文社會科學版）》，卷 40 期 1(2001)，頁 88-93；羅彩雲、陳麗華，〈論經元善慈善思想的形成和發展〉，《株洲師範高等專科學校學報》，2002 年第 3 期，頁 64-67。

14 朱英，〈經元善與晚清慈善公益事業的發展〉，頁 93；周秋光、曾桂林，〈近代慈善事業與中國東南社會變遷 (1895-1949)〉，頁 89；范純武，〈清末民間慈善事業與鸞堂運動〉（嘉義：國立中正大學歷史學系碩士論文，1995），頁 79-82；羅彩雲、陳麗華，〈論經元善慈善思想的形成和發展〉，頁 66。

15 周秋光、曾桂林，〈近代慈善事業與中國東南社會變遷(1895-1949)〉，頁 85-86、88-89、91。

Smith, and Angela Leung 梁其姿.[16] Scholars have also been unable to agree on exactly when China's "modern" charity began. Some scholars vaguely mention the 19th century,[17] while others argue in favor of 1850,[18] the 1870s,[19] 1895,[20] the Boxer Rebellion,[21] or even 1911.[22]

Based on the data to be presented below, I contend that while the technology of charitable relief changed dramatically during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the values and attitudes that motivated elites to become involved in such activities, as well as the networks of power that sustained them, remained relatively unchanged. Thus, while the advent of railroads, steamships, and the telegraph sparked an unprecedented mobilization of cross-provincial disaster relief that helped contribute to the ideal of becoming "citizens" (*guomin* 國民),[23] many elites also continued to feel a profound sense of local identity that prompted them to devote considerable time and resources to organizing disaster relief for their native places. Moreover, despite the prominence of Christian charity in disaster relief efforts, many

16 范純武，〈清末民間慈善事業與鸞堂運動〉；夫馬進，《中國善會善堂史研究》（東京：同朋舍出版，1997）；梁其姿，《施善與教化：明清的慈善組織》（台北：聯經出版事業公司，1997）。

17 夫馬進，《中國善會善堂史研究》；范純武，〈清末民間慈善事業與鸞堂運動〉；雷妮、王日根，〈清代寶慶府社會救濟機構建設中的官民合作——以育嬰堂和養濟院爲中心〉，《清史研究》，2004年第3期，頁53-58。

18 梁其姿，《施善與教化：明清的慈善組織》。

19 Kathryn Edgerton-Tarpley, "Family and Gender in Famine: Cultural Responses to Disaster in North China, 1876-1879," *Journal of Women's History* 16:4 (2004), pp. 119-147; Andrea Janku, "Sowing Happiness: Spiritual Competition in Famine Relief Activities in Late Nineteenth-Century China," *Minsu quyi* 民俗曲藝 143 (2004), pp. 89-118; 李文海，〈晚清義賑的興起與發展〉，《清史研究》，1993年第3期，頁27-35；朱滸，〈江南人在華北——從晚清義賑的興起看地方史路徑的空間局限〉，《近代史研究》，2005年第5期，頁114-148。

20 周秋光、曾桂林，〈近代慈善事業與中國東南社會變遷(1895-1949)〉。

21 李文海、朱滸，〈義和團運動時江南紳商對戰爭難民的社會救助〉。

22 Bergère, *The Golden Age of the Chinese Bourgeoisie, 1911-1937*, pp. 125-126.

23 For more on this problem, see Shen Sung-chiao, "Discourse on *guomin* ('the citizen') in late Qing China, 1895-1911," trans. Hsiao Wen Chien, *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 7:1 (2006), pp. 1-23. The Chinese version of this paper is 沈松橋，〈國權與民權：晚清的「國民」論述，1895-1911〉，《中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊》，第73本第4分，頁685-734.

Chinese elites continued to be motivated by faith in Buddhism. In short, while the conclusions resulting from this case study may not be applicable to all types of charitable activities in modern China, they can help us rethink some of our assumptions about the novelty of elite attitudes and practices during this period of time.

The Taizhou Flood Relief Efforts of 1920-1921 and 1929

Flooding caused tremendous suffering in Republican China. According to data in one compilation, 15 instances of large-scale flooding occurred between 1912 and 1948, 12 of which struck between 1915 and 1935.[24] In the case of Zhejiang, flooding was the most serious of all the natural disasters to afflict this province. Research by Xia Mingfang 夏明方 shows that from 1912 to 1948, 394 of Zhejiang's 709 counties (55.5%) suffered flooding, particularly during the 1920s. In 1920, for example, a total of 37 counties were flooded, with 30 suffering the same fate in 1921, 60 in 1922, and 41 in 1929.[25]

Based on information contained in the *Reports*, as well as reports in newspapers like *Shenbao* and *The North-China Herald*, I have been able to reconstruct the following chronology of the events of 1920. On July 15-16, catastrophic flooding, including a tsunami (*haixiao* 海嘯) struck four counties of Taizhou prefecture. Wenling 溫嶺 County was hardest hit, followed by Linhai 臨海, Huangyan 黃巖, and Ninghai 甯海. A second round of flooding struck Taizhou on July 24-26, with the counties of Tiantai 天台 and Xianju 仙居 being grievously affected (**see Map 1**). The floods were said to have been the worst in 60 years. For example, Wenling was inundated by four feet of water, with over 3,000 people being drowned and countless

24 胡明思、駱承政主編，《中國歷史大洪水》（北京：中國書店，1992）。

25 夏明方，《民國時期自然災害與鄉村社會》（北京：中華書局，2000），頁 34、371-383。

others left homeless. Tens of thousands of men, women, and children throughout the six Taizhou counties mentioned above faced starvation and death, with winter fast approaching.[26]

On July 24, 1920, the first reports of Taizhou's catastrophic floods were published in *The North-China Herald*. According to the anonymous correspondent's report (see Appendix 1), a massive tidal wave swept through the harbor town of Haimen 海門 at 8 p.m. At first, the water was only about 18 inches deep, but rapidly rose to a depth of five feet even in the town's back streets. His account of the resulting chaos seems eerily reminiscent of the images that flashed across TV screens worldwide after the South Asian tsunami, including "...houses falling, strong walls collapsing, screams of drowning men, cries of little children and women imprisoned in falling masonry, the dead and drowning drifting hither and thither, and no one to retrieve the dead or succor the drowning". The receding waters sucked so many corpses out to sea that casualty estimates proved almost impossible (initial reports listed 700 deaths and over $1,000,000 in damage), but one thing was abundantly clear: as was the case when Hurricane Katrina ravaged New Orleans, the poorest suffered the most, in this case those people who lived in straw huts along the river front and in the neighboring villages. The report concludes with a moving description of the flood's aftermath, including bodies exposed for all to see, distraught parents finding the bodies of their children in the wreckage of their homes, and the elderly and infirm left destitute with nothing to do but wait for death to take them.

Disaster relief quickly got underway. According to a *Shenbao* article published on July 28, 1920, Taizhou elites in Shanghai had already begun to organize flood relief and raise money, coordinating their activities with other charitable organizations such as the U.S.-founded China Charitable Relief Association (Zhongguo yizhenhui 中

26 李文海等著，《近代中國災荒紀年續編(1919-1949)》（長沙：湖南教育出版社，1993），頁21。

國義賑會) and the China Rescuing Life Association (Zhongguo jishenghui 中國濟生會), as well as seeking the assistance of dedicated officials like Huang Hanzhi 黃涵之 (1874-1961; a renowned lay Buddhist; see below), who at the time was serving as Circuit Magistrate (*daoyin* 道尹) in Kuaiji 會稽 (Shaoxing 紹興). *Shenbao* also contains accounts of meetings organized by Shanghai's Taizhou elites. On August 1, 1920, the Association of Shanghai's Taizhou Natives [to Provide] Emergency Flood Relief (Lü Hu Taishu shuizai jizhenhui 旅滬台屬水災急賑會) was founded, and Zhu Baosan 朱葆三 (1848-1926) chosen as its leader (for a list of the Association's members, see Appendix 2). Over 100 people attended the Association's inaugural meeting, including three members of the Zhejiang Provincial Assembly (Zhejiang shengyihui 浙江省議會). The August 24, 1920 issue of *Shenbao* describes the Association's third meeting, attended by over 300 people, which was held to organize work relief projects for victims of the floods (literally "using work [projects] in place of [providing] relief" or *yigong daizhen* 以工代賑), as well as arrange for the distribution of donated clothing, including used army uniforms. The *Reports* also contains information about a subsequent meeting, held at the Association's offices on Minguo Road 民國路 on October 29, 1920, during which clerical staff (*xian zhishi* 縣知事) from six Taizhou counties that had suffered flooding discussed the details of administering local disaster relief. Counties were divided into 1st and 2nd level disaster areas based on the extent of the damage they had suffered, with relief efforts being coordinated by Huang Hanzhi, Governor (*shengzhang* 省長) of Zhejiang Shen Jinjiang 沈金鑑 (1875-1924), and Zhejiang Military Governor (*dujun* 督軍) Lu Yongxiang 盧永祥 (1867-1933).[27]

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27 Lu and Shen also played important roles in the Association for Organizing Relief in Zhejiang for the Flood of 1922 (Zhejiang renxu nian shuizai chouzhenhui 浙江壬戌年水災籌賑會). Lu served as chairman, while Shen was his predecessor. It is also significant that, like the Association of Taizhou Natives in Shanghai for Emergency Flood Relief, the China Rescuing Life Association chose to work with civil and military officials such as Huang Hanzhi, Lu Yongxiang, and Shen Jinjian.

Data in the *Reports* clearly shows that Zhejiang elites residing in Shanghai, when faced with the magnitude of a natural disaster, quickly realized that their own resources were inadequate to mount an effective response, and that seeking assistance from local, provincial and central governments had more advantages than disadvantages.[28] Shortly after the Association was founded, its leaders contacted the state to arrange for free telegraph service from August 25, 1920 to February 21, 1921; this privilege was later extended to August 24, 1921. The Association's leadership also arranged for free round-trip train tickets to places like Beijing, which came in handy when they journeyed to the capital to plead for more aid. In addition, during the autumn months of 1920, Taizhou elites sent numerous telegrams to officials and elites in order to enlist their support. Officials contacted included the President Xu Shichang 徐世昌 (1855-1939; served 1918-1922), leading bureaucrats in the Department of State (Guowu yuan 國務院), Governor Shen Jinjiang, Military Governor Lu Yongxiang, etc. Even the Shanxi Military Governor, Yan Xishan 閻錫山 (1883-1960), donated 1,000 dollars to the flood relief effort. Officials like Huang Hanzhi, Lu Yongxiang, and Shen Jinjian also played crucial roles in dealing with the red tape involved in shipping rice from Wuhu 蕪湖 and Hankou 漢口 to afflicted areas of Taizhou (see below). The Association took advantage of its links to elites with political connections, especially Sun Muhan 孫慕韓 (1867-1931), a renowned former diplomat who at the time was serving as chairman of the Beijing branch of the Association for Organizing Flood Relief in Zhejiang (Zhejiang shuizai chouzhenhui 浙江水災籌賑會). It also relied on these connections to overcome objections to work relief projects that had been raised by the Zhejiang Provincial Assemblyman (Zhejiang shengyihui yiyuan 浙江省議會議員) Xu Zuqian 許祖謙 (n. d.).[29]

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28 This is particularly clear in the sections of the *Reports* entitled 赴京請願撥款興辦路工事件, 展長蕭紹塘工獎券接濟台災事件, and 電報鐵路免費事件.

29 Information on the roles officials played may be found in the sections of the *Reports* entitled 展長蕭紹塘

During the latter half of 1920, the Association published frequent appeals for aid (*qi zhenqi* 乞賑啓) and notices of gratitude for donations (*jingxie* 敬謝) in *Shenbao*,[30] while also organizing dramatic performances and art exhibitions in order to raise money. For example, a dramatic performance to aid the relief effort (Da wutai yanju zhuzhen 大舞台演劇助賑) was held for three days and nights beginning on August 20, 1920, with planning for the event having begun just one week earlier on August 13. A second performance (Tianchan qutai yanju zhuzhen 天蟾舞台演劇助賑) was staged for three days and nights beginning on September 28. The Association also contacted Zhejiang artists and persuaded them to sell their works of art in order to raise money, with renowned elites like Wang Zhen 王震 (Wang Yiting 王一亭; 1867-1938), who, like Huang Hanzhi, was also a lay Buddhist, playing an active role in these efforts. Proceeds from such events totaled over 20,000 dollars, most of which was used to purchase clothing and blankets for flood victims. Newspapers like *Shenbao* played a key role in this and many other relief efforts by publishing moving accounts of disasters (including pictures), printing appeals for aid, and running advertisements for fund-raising events.[31]

Detailed information on the Association's fund-raising efforts in 1920 may be found in one section of the *Reports* entitled "All Telegrams Related to Appealing for Relief" (*Guanyu qizhen yiqie dianwen* 關於乞賑一切電文). According to this source, a total of 454,613 dollars had been donated to the Association during the four-month period from August to November for use in flood relief. The Association

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工獎券接濟台災事件, 會稽道尹派委駐滬半米事件, 採辦轉運米石事件, and 調查災情及放賑事件.

30 From August to November, the Association spent 563 dollars to publish these items in *Shenbao*.

31 See Barbara Mittler, *A Newspaper for China?: Power, Identity, and Change in Shanghai's News Media, 1872-1912* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), pp. 80-81; Roberta Wue, "The Profits of Philanthropy: Relief Aid, *Shenbao*, and the Art World in Later Nineteenth-Century Shanghai," *Late Imperial China* 25:1 (2004), pp. 187-211. See also Kathryn Edgerton-Tarpley, "The 'Feminization of Famine,' the Feminization of Nationalism: Famine and Social Activism in Treaty-port Shanghai, 1876-1879," *Social History* 30:4 (November 2005), pp. 421-443.

raised a total of 48,605 dollars on its own, and also collected over 33,000 items of clothing to be distributed to afflicted areas (for more on how aid was distributed, see below). However, the largest contributor to the relief effort was none other than the government of the Republic of China, which contributed 270,000 dollars for the work relief projects mentioned above.[32] Republic of China President Xu Shichang also supported the flood relief effort in Taizhou, contributing a total of 10,000 dollars. Other charitable organizations also made sizable contributions. For example, the China Rescuing Life Association donated a total of 32,000 dollars, while the Shanghai branch of the International Relief Association (Huayang yizhenhui 華洋義賑會), which had been only been founded on September 25, 1920, donated 20,000 dollars. Wang Yiting and Zhu Baosan were leading members of these two organizations, which may in part explain the extent of their support for the Taizhou flood relief effort. The Beijing branch of the Association for Organizing Flood Relief in Zhejiang donated an additional 10,000 dollars.

A number of commercial organizations supported disaster relief as well, the most prominent being the Shanghai Stock Exchange (Shanghai zhengjuan wupin jiaoyi suo 上海證券物品交易所), which donated 3,000 dollars. Why this organization chose to play so prominent a role is unclear, but it may be significant that Zhu Baosan, while not on the Exchange's Board of Directors, was an influential member who held over 29,000 shares of stock.[33] Other major contributors included the Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company (Nanyang xiongdi yancao gongsi 南洋兄弟煙草公司; founded in

32 The Office of Disaster Relief (Zhenwu chu 賑務處) had also prepared a budget of 15 million dollars to be used nationwide, but allocations for individual provinces had yet to be determined.

33 上海市檔案館編，《舊上海的證券交易所》（上海：上海古籍出版社，1992），頁 1-6、63-87; 劉志英，《近代上海華商證券市場研究》（上海：學林出版社，2004）; William Arthur Thomas, *Western Capitalism in China: A History of the Shanghai Stock Exchange* (Aldershot; Burlington, USA: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 254-255.

1919; original company first founded in Hong Kong in 1905)[34] and the Shanghai Foreign Cloth Guild (Shanghai Zhenhua Tang yangbu gongsuo 上海振華堂洋布公所; founded in 1858), both of which donated 1,000 dollars. Unfortunately, however, like so many charitable associations today, the Association of Shanghai's Taizhou Natives [to Provide] Emergency Flood Relief struggled to collect unfulfilled pledges. The "All Telegrams Related to Appealing for Relief" section of the *Reports* ends on the slightly discouraging note, stating that much of the promised funding for the relief effort had failed to materialize, prompting the Association to place ads in Shanghai newspapers appealing to donors to adhere to their previous commitments.

The Association also strove to establish links to other Chinese and foreign charitable organizations. The section of the *Reports* entitled "All Telegrams Related to Appealing for Relief" contains an open letter sent to all charitable organizations in Shanghai, and the data in this source indicates that many responded, including the Chinese Red Cross, the China Rescuing Life Association, the Shanghai branch of the International Relief Association, the Beijing branch of the Association for Organizing Flood Relief in Zhejiang, the Shanghai Association for Rescuing Women and Children (Shanghai jiuji furuhui 上海救濟婦孺會), the U.S.-founded China Relief Association (Zhonghua yizhenhui 中華義賑會), and various charitable halls (*shantang* 善堂).[35] Some organizations provided solely monetary support, such as the Chinese Red Cross, which donated 500 dollars to the relief effort. Others, like the China Rescuing Life Association and the Shanghai branch of the International Relief Association, offered

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34 Sherman Cochran, *Big Business in China: Sino-foreign Rivalry in the Cigarette Industry, 1890-1930* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980).

35 For more on the Chinese Red Cross and other relief associations, see Andrew Nathan, *A History of the China International Famine Relief Commission* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965); 張建俅，〈中國紅十字會初期發展之研究〉（台北：國立政治大學歷史學系博士論文，1998）; 張建俅，〈近代中國政府與社會團體的探討——以中國紅十字會爲例 (1912-1949)〉，《中央研究院近代史研究所集刊》，期 47(2005 年 3 月)，頁 101-164; 劉招成，〈華洋義賑會的農村賑災思想及其實踐〉，《中國農史》，2003 年第 3 期，頁 56-61。

both monetary support (see above) and logistical assistance. For example, the Shanghai branch of the International Relief Association invited members of the Association to its meetings to report on conditions in afflicted areas of Taizhou, while the China Rescuing Life Association offered its services in assessing the extent of flood damage. Some of the above-mentioned charitable organizations also helped organize their own relief efforts for Taizhou flood victims. According to a *Shenbao* report dated August 14, 1920, the China Rescuing Life Association held a meeting to discuss how to cope with the logistical problems of trying to provide relief. The pervading sense of urgency was enhanced by a China Rescuing Life Association report published in the August 30, 1920 issue of *Shenbao*, which detailed the extent of death and destruction in flood-stricken areas of Taizhou.

The Association began to undertake disaster relief in September. Some relief was funded using the 48,605 dollars that the Association had raised. Of this total, 26,000 dollars (53%) was spent on providing relief in each of the six afflicted counties, with Huangyan, Linhai, Huangyan, Ninghai, and Wenling receiving 5,500 dollars each, and Tiantai and Xianju 2,000 dollars each. Like the Red Cross and other relief organizations today, the Association incurred considerable overhead expenses, and kept detailed records of how it spent all funds that had been raised. Thus, 32 pages of the *Reports* were devoted to providing an itemized monthly account of how money was spent to cover members' trips to Beijing and flood-stricken areas of Taizhou, advertisements in *Shenbao*, telegrams, staff salaries, rent for office space, and other miscellaneous items. In addition to sending cash, the Association also distributed over 33,000 items of cotton clothing, including 6,500 items each for Huangyan, Linhai, Huangyan, Ninghai, and Wenling, and 3,200 items each for Tiantai and Xianju. An additional 600 items were sent to Haimen, while 180 items were held for Taizhou refugees who had journeyed to Shanghai. The Association also

endeavored to persuade the government to fund work relief projects, including over 300,000 dollars for dike reconstruction and over 400,000 dollars for repairing a section of highway extending from Linhai to Yongjia 永嘉 (Wenzhou 溫州).[36]

The bulk of the relief effort was undertaken by using funds provided by the government and other charitable associations. According to the longest section of the *Reports*, entitled "Undertaking the Purchase and Shipment of Rice" (*Caiban zhuanyun midan shijian* 採辦轉運米石事件), the Association had planned a nine-month relief effort involving the purchase and shipment of approximately 100,000 *dan* 石 of rice,[37] including 30,000 *dan* from Jiangxi, 30,000 *dan* from Anhui, 30,000 *dan* from Hunan, and 10,000 *dan* purchased in Shanghai. In the end, however, the Association ended up undertaking a slightly shorter seven-month relief effort extending from November 1920 to June 1921. The *Reports* does not indicate whether the Association was able to successfully purchase and ship all 100,000 *dan* of rice, but it is clear that large amounts of relief did end up reaching afflicted areas of Taizhou.

The Association's attempt to provide shipments of rice was beset with difficulties. In some cases, rice was unavailable in the provinces that had been selected.[38] Another serious problem involved rice prices. When the Association began to plan the relief effort in September, the price of rice was approximately 4 dollars per *dan*. During the seven months covered by the relief effort, however, the price of rice nearly doubled, causing Association members and the Zhejiang provincial and county officials who supported their endeavor to scramble for additional money to

36 See the sections of the *Reports* entitled 展長蕭紹塘工獎劵接濟台災事件 and 赴京請願撥款興辦路工事件.

37 During the Republican era, 1 *dan* 石 was the rough equivalent of 200 pounds or 90 kilograms. Another unit of measure used in the *Reports* was *jin* 斤, with 150 *jin* roughly equaling 1 *dan*.

38 The *Reports* contains only a few references to the purchase of Hunan rice; more rice appears to have been purchased at Hankou 漢口 (Hubei 湖北).

complete planned purchases. In one instance, Governor Shen Jinjian wired Zhu Baosan to inform him that 40,000 dollars would be insufficient to purchase 10,000 *dan* of rice, prompting Zhu and other Association members to plead with their merchant friends for additional funds. Another example involved Circuit Magistrate Huang Hanzhi, who borrowed an additional 20,000 dollars from the provincial government in order to complete a rice purchase.

The Association and its official supporters also worked to arrange for tax-free shipments of relief rice. An even greater difficulty involved shipping the rice from the provinces where it had been purchased to Zhejiang. This was because a regulation enacted in 1914 had decreed that during natural disasters rice could not be shipped across provincial boundaries without first procuring a transit document known as a "passport" (*huzhao* 護照).[39] Again, it was officials like Huang Hanzhi, Lu Yongxiang, and Shen Jinjian, who played crucial roles in dealing with the red tape involved in obtaining such a document. For example, the governor of Anhui was initially reluctant to issue passports for his province's rice, but finally relented after being contacted by Huang and Shen. Overcoming all these obstacles proved extremely time-consuming at a time when speed was of the essence. In some cases, the rice that had been purchased spoiled before it reached the refugees who needed it most (see below).

The first shipments of rice began to arrive in mid-November via coastal freighters. Average shipments totaled about 500 *dan*, but some shipments nearly doubled that figure. By the end of November, approximately 5,000 *dan* of rice had arrived at Taizhou, with Huangyan, Linhai, Huangyan, Ninghai, and Wenling receiving 1,000 *dan* each, and Tiantai and Xianju 500 *dan* each. As of January 2001,

39 For more on this problem, see 朱曉琳，〈民國前期(1912-1927)荆江兩岸地區的賑務研究〉，發表在「14世紀以來長江中游的環境、經濟與社會國際學術討論會」，武漢大學，2005年11月20日。

over 25,000 *dan* of rice had arrived, including 5,025 *dan* each for Huangyan, Linhai, Huangyan, Ninghai, and Wenling, and 2,512 *dan* each for Tiantai and Xianju. The *Reports* does not contain complete figures for all the rice shipments, with the most detailed information being provided for shipments to Huangyan. By the time the relief effort had run its course, a total of 11,600 *dan* of rice had reached this county, but there were many cases of discrepancies occurring between the total amount of rice shipped out and the total that actually arrived. For example, a January 29, 2001 shipment aboard the 永利 Yongli freighter was supposed to consist of over 1,100 *dan* of rice, but nearly 500 *dan* donated by China Rescuing Life Association had gone missing, prompting Huang Hanzhi to launch an investigation. By the time the first six shipments of rice had reached Huangyan, just over 20% was reported lost (1,270 of 6,000 *dan*). In addition, due to the delays involving the purchase and shipment of rice mentioned above, some of the rice arrived too spoiled to be consumed. Similar problems plagued the Tiantai relief effort, with one report from January 13, 2001 stating that just over 21 of 470 *dan* that had been shipped on the Yongli was unaccounted for. The Tiantai Circuit Magistrate suspected some sort of corruption, but the crew blamed the loss of the rice on a storm. What happened to all the missing rice remains a mystery.

One particularly striking aspect of the 1920-1921 flood relief effort involves the seemingly weak roles of Taizhou native-place associations. This would seem to run contrary to the research of scholars like Feng Xiaocai, who has convincingly demonstrated the rapid growth of such associations during 1920s. Feng also makes the important point that many of these organizations engaged in a minimum of commercial activities, but were very active in providing traditional forms of charity, such as disaster relief for native places.[40] However, according to the *Reports*,

40 馮筱才，〈鄉親、利潤與網絡：寧波商人與其同鄉組織，1911-1949〉，《中國經濟史研究》，2003

Shanghai's Taizhou Guild (Taizhou gongsuo 台州公所), which had been founded in 1902, only donated 56 dollars. One would expect that this organization would have played a prominent role in the 1920-1921 relief effort, but the evidence in the reports belies this. At the same time, however, Zhu Baosan was one of the Taizhou's guild's founders and most prominent members, so his leadership in the 1920-1921 flood relief effort may have made the guild's further participation unnecessary. It is also necessary to recall that Taizhou natives had yet to organize their own native-place association (*tongxianghui* 同鄉會), with the first planning meeting (*choubei huiyi* 籌備會議) of the Native-place Association of Taizhou Natives in Shanghai (Taizhou Lü Hu tongxianghui 台州旅滬同鄉會) not taking place until the end of December 1920, when flood relief was already well underway.[41] This meeting was chaired by Yao Tongyu 姚桐豫 (1869-?), who was the author of a preface to the *Reports* (see below). Taizhou elites like Zhu Baosan had links to Ningbo native-place associations, but none of these were involved in the relief effort as well. The factors underlying this lack of participation have yet to be determined.

Ningbo elites, as well as elites from other parts of Zhejiang, did play leading roles a few years later, when many of the men who had been involved in the Association of Shanghai's Taizhou Natives [to Provide] Emergency Flood Relief gathered together to organize a new aid campaign after a series of natural disasters

年第 2 期，頁 63-73; 馮筱才，〈近世中國商會的常態與變態：以 1920 年代的杭州總商會爲例〉，《浙江社會科學》，2003 年第 5 期，頁 196-204. The important point that native-place associations were active in fund-raising is also raised in the《浙江壬戌年水災籌賑會報告，賑務紀要》，頁 3。

41 For more on these two associations, see 郭緒印，《老上海的同鄉團體》（上海：文匯出版社，2003），頁 45、96. The earliest references to the Native-place Association of Taizhou Natives in Shanghai in *Shenbao* occur on December 30, 1920; April 9, 1923; July 25, 1924; August 1, 1924; August 8, 1924, and August 19, 1925. I am grateful to Li Ta-chia 李達嘉 for giving me copies of these materials. The Shanghai Municipal Archives has 13 *juan* 卷 of materials on the Taizhou Guild, but only covering the years 1933-1954. As for the Native-place Association of Taizhou Natives in Shanghai, the Archives only has materials dating from 1943 to 1946. A good introduction to Shanghai's guilds may also be found at the following Chinese website: http://www.stuhome.net/newscu/article.php/1448.

devastated Taizhou. During the first half of 1929, local farmers endured a prolonged drought, which was followed by a plague of locusts (*minghuang* 螟蝗) during the sixth lunar month. Because most farmers were able to double-crop, they placed their hopes on the second harvest, only to see the new crop devastated by a powerful wind storm that lasted three days and toppled both crops and houses. Just ten days later, a combination of torrential rains and a tsunami resulted in a flood crest that inundated 500,000 *mu* 畝 of land and destroyed 100,000 homes; entire villages were wiped off the face of the earth (**see Figure 1**).

In order to cope with these calamities, Zhejiang elites formed the Association for Emergency Relief of Taizhou's Disasters (Taizai jizhenhui 台災急賑會), the offices of which were located in the Hall of Benevolent Succor (Jenji Tang 仁濟堂) at the corner of Liuma Road 六馬路 and Yunnan Road 雲南路. They also printed the booklet *Extraordinary Disasters*, complete with photos of the devastation and its victims, which they circulated throughout Shanghai and other urban centers in order to raise funds for the 1929 relief effort. Members of the Association of Shanghai's Taizhou Natives [to Provide] Emergency Flood Relief who also took part in the 1929 relief effort included Yao Tongyu, Yu Changlin 喻長霖 (fl. 1895-1914), Zhang Yishan 章一山 (n. d.), etc. (see Appendix 2). Sun Muhan and Wang Yiting, who had played key roles during the 1920-1921 flood relief effort, helped chair the Association's meetings, and Sun wrote the preface (*xu* 序) for *Extraordinary Disasters*. However, the Association for Emergency Relief of Taizhou's Disasters was especially noteworthy for attracting the support of numerous non-Taizhou elites, including Du Yuesheng 杜月笙 (1888-1951; a Shanghai native and Green Gang [Qingbang 青幫] leader),[42] Guan Jiongzhi 關炯之 (1879-?; from Hanyang 漢陽;

42 Du's links to the Green Gang are vividly described in Brian G. Martin, *The Shanghai Green Gang: Politics and Organized Crime, 1919-1937* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1996), esp. pp. 40-43, 81-82, 102-105, 114-149, 190-213.

served as an official in Shanghai), Li Yunshu 李雲書 (1867-?; Zhenhai 鎮海), Liu Hongsheng 劉鴻生 (1888-1956; Dinghai 定海), Qin Runqing 秦潤卿 (1877-1966; Cixi 慈溪), Song Hanzhang 宋漢章 (1872-1968; Yuyao 餘姚), Wang Xiaolai 王曉籟 (1886-1967; Shengxian 嵊縣), Yu Xiaqing 虞洽卿 (1867-1945; Zhenhai), and Zhu Ziqian 朱子謙 (n. d.; Wuxing 吳興) (see Appendix 3).[43] The factors explaining the wider geographic scope of elites who participated in this Association are as yet unclear. One explanation might be that connections between Taizhou elites and elites from other parts of China (including Zhejiang) had strengthened over time, but it is also possible that the scale of the devastation and the extent of reporting about it might have attracted the attention of Zhejiang elites who were not Taizhou natives. Another possibility is that these elites worked together because of their membership in the lay Buddhist networks to be described below. The exact processes and mechanisms by which Taizhou elites enhanced their networks of influence will have to be the subject of future research efforts.

The Significance of Elite Participation in Charitable Activities

Many of the elites mentioned above are well-known figures among modern Chinese historians. However, most previous scholarship about these men has tended to focus on their political and commercial activities.[44] For example, Bryna Goodman's study of modern Shanghai provides detailed accounts of how men like Liu Hongsheng, Song Hanzhang, Wang Xiaolai, Yu Xiaqing, and Zhu Baosan served as

43 For more on Yu, see 金普森主編，《虞洽卿研究》（寧波：寧波出版社，1997），esp. pp. 62-76, 270-283.

44 See for example Hao Yen-p'ing, *The Comprador in Nineteenth-century China: Bridge between East and West* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), pp. 182-194; Frederic Wakeman and Yeh Wen-hsin, eds., *Shanghai Sojourners* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); 根岸佶，《上海のギルド》（東京：日本評論社，1951），頁 374-377; Bergère, *The Golden Age of the Chinese Bourgeoisie*, pp. 126, 135-137, 142-144; Fewsmith, *Party, State, and Local Elites in Republican China*, pp. 42-55; Rankin, *Elite Activism and Political Transformation in China*, pp. 86-86, 259.

"prominent capitalists" and "modernizing" community leaders, who worked together to lead anti-foreign protests and provide relief during times of crisis.[45] Tao Shuimu has researched their contributions during the period when they were serving as heads of native-place associations such as the Ningbo tongxianghui 寧波同鄉會 (founded in 1911 by Yu Xiaqing, Zhu Baosan, and other Shanghai elites), or commercial associations such as the Shanghai General Chamber of Commerce (Shanghai zongshanghui 上海總商會; founded in 1902). Tao's research also treats the problem of how sojourning elites were able to cooperate despite possessing different backgrounds and different interests.[46] Li Ta-chia's recent paper sheds new light on this problem by showing that Song Hanzhang and Zhu Baosan belonged to different factions during 1924 elections to lead General Chamber of Commerce.[47] However, inasmuch as both men took part in Taizhou flood relief, it would seem that belonging to rival factions when competing for leadership positions did not preclude the possibility of working together to organize charitable activities.

The evidence presented in this paper complements the above-mentioned research by demonstrating that charity was an integral part of urban elite culture. Many of the elites who joined the two flood relief associations described above also played active roles in other charitable organizations, including the Chinese Red Cross and the International Relief Association, with Wang Xiaolai, Wang Yiting, Yu Xiaqing, and Zhu Baosan being prominent examples of this phenomenon.[48] The factors that inspired these men to devote so much time and energy to charitable activities were many and varied (see below), but preliminary biographical studies on my part have turned up a few tantalizing clues. Many of these men, including Du Yuesheng, Liu

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45 Goodman, *Native Place, City, and Nation*, pp. 138, 156, 194, 208-214, 218-226, 245, 278, 302.

46 陶水木，《浙江商幫與上海經濟近代化研究：1840-1936》，頁 215-231、407-450。

47 李達嘉，〈上海商會領導層更迭問題的再思考〉，《中央研究院近代史研究所集刊》，期 49（2005 年 9 月），頁 74-87。

48 張建俅，〈中國紅十字會初期發展之研究〉；陶水木，〈北洋政府時期旅滬浙商的慈善活動〉。

Hongsheng, Qin Runqing, Wang Yiting, Yu Xiaqing, and Zhu Baosan, grew up in impoverished families, and with the exception of Zhu Baosan all had lost their fathers in childhood. Although more systematic research on the personal backgrounds of prominent Chinese philanthropists will be required before definitive conclusions can be formed, the biographical data that I have been able to collect on the elites mentioned above suggests that the difficult circumstances they faced during the early years of their lives, as well as the hardships they witnessed and experienced, may have been one factor that motivated them to help others when they had the means to do so.[49]

Take for example the case of Zhu Baosan. Born in Huangyan, he grew up in poverty and faced with the suffering of his sickly father. These experiences shaped his outlook on life, and he is said to have emphasized that, "Accumulating wealth for one's descendents cannot compare with accumulating merit for one's descendents" (*jicai yu zisun, buru jide yu zisun* 積財於子孫，不如積德於子孫). This is not to deny his success in the realm of commerce, joining forces with men like Wang Yiting and Yu Xiaqing in the course of achieving this goal. According to one popular ditty about his prodigious influence, "The Circuit Intendant's seal is not equal to one letter by Zhu Baosan" (*daotai yike yin, buji Zhu Baosan yifeng xin* 道台一顆印，不及朱葆三一封信). Zhu also devoted unstinting attention to charitable activities, working alongside Wang, Yu, and other like-minded elites to help found organizations like the Chinese Red Cross and the International Relief Association. Despite becoming embroiled in a controversy surrounding the May 4th Movement, and enduring at least a

49 This is not to deny that many people lost their fathers and/or grew up in poverty during the chaotic years of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Moreover, I have yet to determine the extent of the personal hardship that these men faced, particularly whether it involved real poverty or a loss of wealth and status so common among declining gentry families. It will also be necessary to consider the charitable activities of people born into wealthy or up-and-coming families. I am grateful to Peter Zarrow for raising these issues (personal communication; February 2, 2005).

temporary loss of some of his prestige, Zhu continued to be active in the realm of charity (perhaps even as a means of recovering some of his lost prestige), as can be seen in his assuming leadership of the Association of Shanghai's Taizhou Natives [to Provide] Emergency Flood Relief during the summer and autumn of 1920. He died in 1926 after being infected while organizing relief at a Shanghai hospital during an epidemic, and was the first Chinese to have one of this city's streets named after him.[50]

Another individual whose life was guided by charitable sentiments was Wang Yiting. A Wuxing native, he was born in Shanghai because his father had fled their home during the 1860s (most likely as a result of the Taiping Rebellion). His father died when he was a boy, and perhaps his sense of filial duty prompted his love of the *Classic of Filial Piety* (*Xiaojing* 孝經). He was certainly captivated by the illustrations in this work, which inspired his love of painting and calligraphy. At age 13, he started out as an apprentice at a banking house (*qianzhuang* 錢莊) run by the family of another elite mentioned above, Li Yunshu, and later earned his fortune serving as comprador (*maiban* 買辦) for the Osaka Commercial Shipping Company (大阪商船). He never forgot his links to the Japanese, and was instrumental in organizing disaster relief in Shanghai for the victims of the 1923 Kantō (關東) Earthquake.[51] Wang also joined the Tongmeng hui 同盟會, and was involved in the 1911 revolution. He became one of Shanghai's leading elites, and in 1923 even invited Albert Einstein to his home for dinner.[52]

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50 For more on Zhu, see http://202.96.224.197/hsrw/shmr/200301200256.html（上海檔案信息網）；劉紹唐主編，《民國人物小傳》（台北：傳記文學出版社，1975），冊 14，頁 49-54；馬稟鎔，〈積財不如積德——朱葆三先生二三事〉，《中國工商》，1998 年第 8 期，頁 41。

51 One of his grandsons is said to be residing in Tokyo.

52 See http://www.shtong.gov.cn/node2/node4429/node4432/node70708/node70710/userobject1ai45540.html（上海市地方誌辦公室）；賀鑫昌，〈海上聞人王一亭〉，《檔案與史學》，1996 年第 6 期，頁 54-59；劉紹唐主編，《民國人物小傳》，冊 10，頁 35-43。

What few historians have considered in detail, however, is Wang's deep faith in Buddhism and his intense commitment to helping others. His beliefs may have been at least partly inspired by the tragedies he experienced, including the demise of his father, the loss of his first wife less than one year into their marriage, and the death of his third daughter in infancy. He was also deeply moved by the suffering of others, and the subjects of his paintings included not only Buddhist deities but also the victims of floods and other natural disasters (**see Figure 2**).[53] As we saw above, Wang sold many of his own paintings in order to raise the funds necessary to provide aid to disaster victims. Like Zhu Baosan, Wang served on organizations such as the China Rescuing Life Association, the Chinese Red Cross, and the International Relief Association, but some of his charitable work was also done in the context of Buddhism. For example, he served on the Charity Committee (Cishan weiyuanhui 慈善委員會) of the Chinese Buddhist Association (Zhongguo fojiao hui 中國佛教會; founded in Shanghai in 1929), raising hundreds of thousands of dollars to provide disaster relief and social welfare for the less fortunate. He also practiced spirit-writing (*fuji* 扶乩), and some of the texts produced during these rites were said to have proven instrumental in terms of inspiring people to make donations. All in all, his contributions to the welfare of others were of such magnitude that, according to an obituary published in *Shenbao* on November 15, 1938, "In Shanghai, there were no charities without Master [Wang]'s involvement".[54]

53 The practice of using paintings (and also poetry) depicting the suffering of disaster victims as a means of attracting sympathy from potential donors can be traced back to at least the late Ming; see Roger V. Des Forges, *Cultural Centrality and Political Change in Chinese History: Northeast Henan in the Fall of the Ming* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), pp. 37-51. For more on the development of these practices in late Qing and Republican China, see Edgerton-Tarpley, "'Feminization of Famine'," Janku, "Sowing Happiness".

54 Tsao Hsing-yuan, "A Forgotten Celebrity: Wang Zhen 王震(1867-1933), Businessman, Philanthropist, and Artist," in Ju-hsi Chou, ed., *Art at the Close of China's Empire*, in *Phoebus. Occasional Papers in Art History*, vol. 8 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona State University Press, Ltd., 1998), pp. 94-109; 鍾瓊寧，〈民初上海居士佛教的發展 (1912-1937)〉，《圓光佛學學報》，期 3(1999)，頁 183-184; 范純武，〈近現

Apart from personal experiences, many elites were motivated by more pragmatic factors like relying on charitable activities to increase their cultural networks of power[55] or accumulate symbolic capital.[56] Numerous scholars have clearly shown that working alongside other philanthropists to provide disaster relief, particularly across provincial boundaries, could prove to be an invaluable means of strengthening or even expanding elite networks of power.[57] Elites organizing disaster relief in Taizhou during the 1920s clearly recognized the vital importance of such networks, particularly native-place (*tongxiang* 同鄉) connections. For example, the Association of Shanghai's Taizhou Natives [to Provide] Emergency Flood Relief relied on Taizhou natives residing in Beijing and Hangzhou like Wang Xiyin 王希尹, who coordinated relief efforts with members of Zhejiang and Taizhou *huiguan* 會館 in Beijing. Other non-Taizhou elites were also invaluable assets to the relief effort due to their connections to central government officials. For example, Sun Muhan donated 10,000 dollars in the name of the Beijing branch of the Association for Organizing Flood Relief in Zhejiang, and also persuaded an anonymous group of overseas Chinese philanthropists to donate 10,000 dollars. While the leaders of the Association of Shanghai's Taizhou Natives publicly lamented the fact that Taizhou was a relatively poor part of Zhejiang, with few wealthy natives possessing the connections needed to coordinate disaster relief, they were also able to make the best possible use of their networks and connections in order to provide aid for their native places.

Engaging in charitable activities like disaster relief was also an important means

代中國佛教與扶乩〉，《圓光佛學學報》，期 3(1999)，頁 246、291-292。

55 Prasenjit Duara, *Culture, Power, and the State: Rural North China, 1900-1942* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988).

56 Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory in Practice*, trans. R. Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

57 Goodman, *Native Place, City, and Nation*, p. 124; Hao, *The Comprador in Nineteenth-century China*, pp. 186-187; 吳滔，〈清至民初嘉定寶山地區分廠傳統之轉變〉，頁 7-9。

by which elites could accumulate symbolic capital. This can be seen in a section of the *Reports* entitled "Publicizing [good] deeds and petitioning for commendations" (*qingjiang gongshi* 請獎公事), which lists the meritorious deeds of individuals who worked for the Association of Shanghai's Taizhou Natives from 1920 to 1921, as well as the government-awarded commendations they received for their efforts. As the late imperial state had endeavored to enlist elite support in providing disaster relief, so the new Republican government continued to use such methods, and by July 1914 had issued the "Regulations for Awarding Commendations for Charitable Relief" (*Yizhen jiangli zhangcheng* 義賑獎勵章程). According to these regulations, provincial officials were entitled to submit the names of elites who had donated large amounts of money (5,000 dollars or more) or had made significant efforts on behalf of disaster relief to the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Neiwu bu 內務部), which would review the relevant documents and then forward them to the President for final approval. Commendations came in the form of certificates (*jiangzhang* 獎章), or in the case of particularly diligent philanthropists who had since passed away, placards (*bian'e* 匾額) to honor their descendents.[58] Following the completion of the 1920-1921 Taizhou flood relief effort, Shen Jinjiang was responsible for submitting lists of names of those meriting commendations. These lists included not only individuals but also organizations, including the Shanghai Stock Exchange, which had donated 3,000 dollars (see above). The *Reports* also states that local officials could also issue minor commendations to individuals who had donated smaller sums of money (400 dollars or less). Elites could also increase their share of symbolic capital by having their names published in *Shenbao*, a practice that dates back to the late nineteenth century.[59]

58 朱曉琳，〈民國前期(1912-1927)荊江兩岸地區的賑務研究〉. According to this paper, the state issued a new set of regulations in October 1920 stipulating severe punishments (including the death penalty) for elite who embezzled more than 500 dollars of relief funds. These punishments do not appear to have been applied in the case of the 1920-1921 Taizhou flood relief effort.

59 Rankin, *Elite Activism and Political Transformation in China*, pp. 144-145; Janku, "Sowing Happiness,"

The importance of charity as a means of accumulating symbolic capital during the 1929 flood relief effort can perhaps be most vividly seen in the case of a man who is best known for his links to dark side of Republican-era politics and the Shanghai underworld, Du Yuesheng. A Suzhou 蘇州 native, Du was born in a rural section of Pudong 浦東 in 1888. Both his parents died when he was a youth, and he grew up in poverty. His family could only afford to send him to the local elementary school for four months, so he only learned to read and write during the 1930s. Du appears to have been a bit of a juvenile delinquent, and frequently got into trouble due to his love of gambling. For example, he started out as an apprentice in a fruit shop, but was soon fired for stealing money to support his habit. He also fell victim to an opium addiction, and later turned to dealing the narcotic. Du became one of many local gangsters active in Shanghai wharf area, and joined the Green Gang in 1910, rising through the ranks to leadership positions during the 1920s, during which time he also established close ties to the KMT. Once Du had established a firm foundation of power, however, he began to turn his attention to accumulating symbolic capital, becoming a major contributor to hospitals and schools, as well as working alongside men like Wang Yiting and Yu Xiaqing to provide disaster relief.[60] As Brian G. Martin aptly puts it, "Charitable works provided a community-sanctioned means of expressing an important self-image of the secret society member: that of the open-handed 'hero' who protected the weak and powerless".[61]

In addition to pragmatic and symbolic concerns discussed above, many elites possessed a profound sense of native-place identity. As noted in the paper's introduction, this is not to deny the importance of nationalism and national identity during the late Qing and Republican eras, which was in part inspired by the

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pp. 101, 104.

60 See Martin, *The Shanghai Green Gang*, pp. 40-43, 77-82, 144-149.

61 Martin, *The Shanghai Green Gang*, p. 145.

undertaking of disaster relief efforts that crossed provincial borders.[62] At the same time, however, the writings of Association members indicate that traditional forms of local identity persisted concurrently with newer forms of national identity. This is quite clear in the case of Yao Tongyu, who authored a preface for the *Reports* in 1921, after the relief effort had reached a successful conclusion (see Appendix 4). Yao was the Association's representative in Beijing, and worked hard to coordinate fund-raising efforts there. He turned down the opportunity to apply for a commendation, however, preferring instead that his name and deeds be listed in the *Reports* as a commemorative gesture. His preface, full of modest claims about the inadequacy of his efforts, also expresses a clear sense of local identity (*yu po yu sangzi zhi yi, mian xiang qi shi* 予迫於桑梓之義，勉襄其事). Yao also claimed that while in the past he had not assumed responsibility for the welfare of his native place, helping to organize flood relief had finally provided him an opportunity to do so (*yixiang yiyi zhi anwei, chou xi weichang guowen, ci qi ouranzhe er* 一鄉一邑之安危，疇昔未嘗過問，此其偶然者耳). Local identity also appears to have been a driving force for the Association's leader, Zhu Baosan. While Zhu's family came to Shanghai from Dinghai 定海 (Ningbo), his ancestral home was in Taizhou, and the *Reports* consistently describes him as being from Taizhou (Taishu 台屬). He

62 See the important discussions of these issues in Shen Sung-chiao, "Discourse on *guomin* ('the citizen') in late Qing China, 1895-1911," and Henrietta Harrison, *The Making of the Republican Citizen: Political Ceremonies and Symbols in China, 1911-1929* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). For the links between identity and modern charity, see Edgerton-Tarpley, "The 'Feminization of Famine,'" pp. 411, 425-426, 437; 朱滸，〈江南人在華北〉，頁 133. However, as Andrea Janku points out, by November 1920 attitudes towards cross-provincial relief efforts not only featured true philanthropic concern for the plight of famine victims, but also anger over misuse of donations and fear that hordes of northern refugees would descend on Shanghai. See Andrea Janku, "The Uses of Genres in the Chinese Press from the Late Qing to the Early Republican Period," in Cynthia Brokaw and Christopher Reed, eds., *From Woodblocks to the Internet: Chinese Printing and Publishing Culture in Transition* (conference volume in preparation). See also the November 1 and November 5 issues of *Shenbao*, including a cartoon on page 14 of the former issue showing a childlike famine victim with a grossly enlarged head and shrunken body, crying out for assistance.

confirmed these sentiments in a letter to Lu Yongxiang, when he stated that his home was in Huangyan (*zuji Huangyan* 祖籍黃巖), that he had never forgotten his roots, and that he could not be indifferent when watching people from his homeland suffer [literally "it is difficult to be indifferent to one's homeland/roots" (*sangzi guanxi yi nan jiaran* 桑梓關係誼難恝然)].[63]

These same elites were also motivated by an intense commitment to do whatever they could to ease the suffering of helpless men, women, and children caught up in the ebb and flow of their chaotic times. Such sentiments are clearly expressed in the prefaces to the *Reports* and the *Extraordinary Disasters* (see Appendix 4 and Appendix 5). Take for example the first preface to the *Reports*, which was written by Yu Changlin in 1921. An 1895 *jinshi* 進士, Yu served as the Association of Shanghai's Taizhou Natives' representative in Hangzhou. Like Yao, he played a key role in organizing disaster relief, and like Yao, he declined his chance at a commendation. Yu's preface is marked by an intense concern for being well-prepared for disaster relief.[64] Taking as his model the Song-dynasty text *Record of Relieving Natural Disasters in Yuezhou (Shaoxing)* (*Yuezhou jiuzai ji* 越州救災記) by Zeng Gong 曾鞏 (1019-1083), Yu emphasizes that concern for detail (*weiqu xianxi* 委曲纖悉) was essential both in terms of planning for natural disasters and responding to their effects.

> [If we elites fail to plan ahead, we] would be unable to cope as disaster victims wander far and wide, [the weak] eventually dying in ditches by the road...Only if we provide for the dead and take care of

63 See 展長蕭紹塘工獎券接濟台災事件, p. 1b. For more on the multifaceted identities of sojourning elites, see Goodman, *Native Place, City, and Nation*, pp. 5-11, 145-146.

64 This emphasis on the practical aspects of providing relief might have been partially influenced by the statecraft (*jingshi* 經世) movement of late 18^{th} century. Randall A. Dodgen, *Controlling the Dragon: Confucian Engineers and the Yellow River in Late Imperial China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001); see also Handlin Smith, "Benevolent Societies," p. 314; Will & Wong, *Nourish the People*, pp. 19-98.

> the injured, will the helpless masses not be forced to take risks (i.e., turn to banditry).
>
> 使災民不至流離失所，而轉於溝壑，亦焦頭爛額……抑但救死扶傷，俾顛〔？〕無告之民，不至挺〔鋌〕而走險斯已耳。

Both Yu and Yao were also motivated by a need to do something positive in the midst of an era of decline, and their prefaces express stinging political commentary about the chaos of the early Republican era. Yao felt deeply moved by the suffering of his age, vividly describing how political chaos had resulted in famine and death, with people (including him) being forced to leave their homes behind. Yu compared his era to the fall of the Ming dynasty, while also leveling scathing criticism at the miscreants who were terrorizing the populace. His preface was clearly intended to be both inspiring, yet also to serve as a warning to his contemporaries of the great peril they were facing:

> During the Ming dynasty, natural disasters prevailed, and all the provinces suffered famine. Bandits roamed unchecked, chaos ensued, and the Ming fell. Today the southern provinces suffer flooding, while in the five northern provinces (Hebei 河北, Henan 河南, Shandong 山東, Shanxi 山西, Shaanxi 陝西) the parched earth extends for miles. The extent of these disasters is no less than that of the Ming. Yet people feel no sense of remorse for these calamities, while warlords, political hacks, magnates, cliques, and gangsters swoop down on the masses like predator birds wishing to kill, stripping away the people's wealth with their sharp claws. If nothing changes, the chaos that results will be no less than what occurred during the depredations of Zhang Xianzhong 張獻忠 (1606-1646) and Li Zicheng 李自成 (1606-1645).

有明之季，天災流行，各省饑饉，盜賊蠭起，大亂作而明已亡。
今南省水災，北五省赤地數千里，災象不減明季，乃人不悔禍，
而軍閥、政客、偉人、亂黨、流氓，狼顧鴟張，日鋸乎厲爪以朘
民膏血，循是不改，而至釀來獻〔張獻忠〕闖〔李自成〕之亂不止。

At the same time, however, elites like Yu and Yao would not hesitate to work with officials who they deemed were capable and honest. For example, Yao praised the efforts of officials like Huang Hanzhi for overcoming many of the difficulties that arose during the relief campaign, while Yu proudly noted that the ability of officials and elites to cooperate had proved essential in terms of alleviating the suffering of disaster victims.

> During last year's extraordinary disasters, when people were reduced to chewing on weeds and gnawing on rice husks, officials and the gentry were of one mind in their efforts. Dedicating themselves to the welfare of others, they rushed to put on their caps and work to provide relief, so that the people's suffering could be eased.
>
> 去歲奇災，民或食草根雜糠秕啜之，官紳同心協力，摩頂放踵，
> 纓冠以救，而民困僅以稍蘇。

The prefaces to the *Extraordinary Disasters* share the above sentiments, but are especially noteworthy for their professions of Buddhist faith as a key factor in inspiring charitable deeds. While many elites borrowed Buddhist terminology to legitimize their actions,[65] some prominent members of the Association for Emergency Relief of Taizhou's Disasters were practicing Buddhists, including Guan Jiongzhi, Huang Hanzhi, Li Yunshu, Wang Yiting, and Zhu Ziqian. These men had been influenced by a new generation of Buddhist *sangha*, including the reformist Venerable Master Taixu 太虛大師 (1890-1947; born in Haining 海寧; spent much of his life in

65 See for example Handlin Smith, "Chinese Philanthropy," pp. 133, 149-150.

Ningbo and Shanghai), as well as the renowned promoter of "Human Realm Buddhism" (Renjian Fojiao 人間佛教), Dharma Master Yinshun 印順法師 (also a Haining native; born in 1906).[66] All the lay Buddhist men mentioned above were members of the Jiangsu Association of Buddhist [Purifying] Transformations (Jiangsu Fo[jiao jing]hua lianhe hui 江蘇佛[教淨]化聯合會), which had been founded in 1927 and consisted of 42.9% lay Buddhists, a far higher percentage than most similar associations. These men aided Taixu and other reform-minded members of the *sangha* in resolving conflicts with the state, helping Buddhism survive trials of early 20th century.[67]

The depth of the faith these men had in their religion comes through clearly in Sun Muhan's preface, as well as an anonymous Foreword (*yuanqi* 緣起) that describes the Association for Emergency Relief's formation and goals. Sun's preface, for example, contains an appeal to potential donors to accumulate merit by helping those in distress during this era of chaos: "[May the] meritorious waters of the eight directions merge to form tens of thousands of acres of benevolent waves, and the lamps of a thousand Buddhas shine on the crippled and emaciated in the realm of darkness" (*bafang gongde shui, huicheng wanqing enbo, qianfo dengguang, zhaoche jiuyou wangji* 八方功德水，滙成萬頃恩波，千佛燈光，照徹九幽尫瘠). Such sentiments are echoed with even greater force in the Foreword:

> Let us recall the mercy of our Buddha and work diligently to fulfill his vow of saving the multitudes. The human heart tends to goodness; how could we lack pity for those facing such dire hardships? Let us bestow the dharma and distribute our wealth, and

66 Like so many of the elites discussed above, Taixu also lost his father as an infant. For more on Taixu's life and works, see Don Alvin Pittman, *Toward a Modern Chinese Buddhism: Taixu's Reforms* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001).

67 鍾瓊寧，〈民初上海居士佛教的發展(1912-1937)〉，頁 166、177-180。

our fields of blessing will be of immeasurable breadth.

惟念我佛慈悲，夙以普救眾生爲大願，況乃人心好善，詎乏卹憐急難之同情，在梵門施法施財，難得福田之廣。

Expressions of Buddhist faith do not appear to have been prominent in the newspapers and archival sources traditionally used to study China's urban elites, and this has caused some scholars to overlook the importance of religious beliefs and religious networks to men so often depicted as being at the forefront of Chinese modernity.[68] For example, in his otherwise stimulating treatment of elite famine relief efforts on behalf of North China during the late Qing, Zhu Hu 朱滸 engages in a lengthy discussion of the concept of "blessed retribution" (*fubao* 福報) without noting its links to Buddhist doctrine.[69] Similar neglect has dogged the study of Western charity. Abigail Green's recent article on the renowned Jewish philanthropist Sir Moses Montefiore (1784-1885) points out that while previous histories of modern European philanthropy have emphasized the relationship between the rise of capitalism and "scientific" approaches to philanthropy that prioritized relief for "deserving poor", current scholars are developing a growing appreciation of the importance of religion as a motivating force.[70]

Concluding Remarks

This paper has attempted to enhance our understanding of the interaction between state and society in modern Chinese charity, particularly in terms of elite

68 For more on this problem, see 黎志剛, "From Regional Division of Labour to Global Networks: Economic Activities of Chungshan 中山 Merchant Groups,"「近代中國的財經變遷與企業文化」國際學術研討會，2004年12月15日至17日，頁5、24.

69 朱滸，〈江南人在華北〉，頁133-139. Tao Shuimu 陶水木's study of Zhejiang merchants' charitable activities also fails to mention the importance of Buddhism.

70 Abigail Green, "Rethinking Sir Moses Montefiore: Religion, Nationhood, and International Philanthropy in the Nineteenth Century," *The American Historical Review* 110:3 (June 2005), pp. 633, 635.

participation in disaster relief efforts and their underlying motivations. While previous scholars have tended to emphasize the novelty of Republican-era charity, the evidence presented above indicates that such activities exhibited considerable continuity. For example, there were cases of non-state and non-Buddhist relief as early as the Song dynasty,[71] while elites in charge of native-place associations (*tongxianghui* 同鄉會) and guilds (*hanghui* 行會) had begun to organize charitable activities like disaster relief, social welfare, and education since at least the eighteenth century.[72] Angela Leung's research reveals that the late imperial era featured large-scale charitable associations (*shanhui* 善會) which possessed substantial income, were led by elites who served in rotation or else on a board of directors, and attracted official support.[73] Perhaps even more significantly, research by Joanna Handlin Smith indicates that late imperial charity featured extensive interaction between elites and local officials, who worked together to provide aid to disaster victims. Officials almost inevitably became involved in such efforts, because only they had the authority to enable trans-regional shipments.[74] Such experience proved valuable when official and elites (many of whom were former officials) worked together to organize disaster relief in the late Qing and Republican eras, including during the 1920-1921 flood relief campaign.

Handlin Smith's research also shows that the elites who managed late Ming charitable associations often did so due to their self-image as dedicated philanthropists, an image they actively strove to cultivate. Even the practice of

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[71] See for example James T. C. Liu, "Liu Tsai 劉宰 (1165-1238): His Philanthropy and Neo-Confucian Limitations," *Oriens Extremus* 25:1 (1978), pp. 1-29.

[72] Elvin, "The Administration of Shanghai, 1905-1914," pp. 240-241.

[73] 梁其姿，《施善與教化：明清的慈善組織》，頁 77-83。

[74] Li and Dray-Novey, "Guarding Beijing's Food Security in the Qing Dynasty"; Lillian M. Li, "Integration and Disintegration in North China's Grain Markets, 1738-1911," *Journal of Economic History* 60:3 (September 2000), pp. 665-700; Handlin Smith, "Chinese Philanthropy," pp. 134, 143-145.

publicizing the names of donors in newspapers like *Shenbao*, usually attributed to missionary influence, may at least partially derive from the late-Ming practice of publicly circulating lists of donors.[75] All this conforms to traditional views of famine relief and other charitable activities as being moral concerns by which the "Confucian gentleman" demonstrated his concern for and commitment to communal well-being.[76]

A final and striking example of continuity are the religious beliefs that clearly helped motivate some elites to participate in charitable activities during the Republican era. As we have seen above, many Taizhou elites joined flood relief efforts in part due to their devotion to Buddhism. This religion has played a key role in Chinese charitable activities since at least the medieval era, and continues to do so today – consider the case of Taiwan's Compassionate Relief Merit Society (Ciji gongdehui 慈濟功德會).[77] All this confirms Bryna Goodman's observation that, "[The] extension of charitable activity beginning during the late 1870s…resists characterization in the opposing categories of 'modern' or 'traditional',"[78] and suggests the need for adopting a broader perspective for understanding the factors that motivated Chinese elites to contribute to the well-being of others.

75 Handlin Smith, "Benevolent Societies," p. 312; Handlin Smith, "Chinese Philanthropy," pp. 135-137, 142, 152. Prof. Handlin Smith is in the process of completing a book-length study of late imperial charity. For more on these points, see also 黎志剛, "From Regional Division of Labour to Global Networks," p. 25.

76 For more on this problem, see Janku, "Sowing Happiness"; Richard John Lufrano, *Honorable Merchants: Commerce and Self-cultivation in Late Imperial China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), pp. 79, 90-92, 185; Susan Mann, *Local Merchants and the Chinese Bureaucracy, 1750-1950* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), pp. 16-18, 87; 徐茂明，〈明清時期江南社會基層組織演變述論〉，《社會科學》，2003 年第 4 期，頁 91-99；連玲玲，〈企業文化與企業策略：以上海永安公司的兩代企業家為中心的觀察，1900s-1940s〉，「近代中國的財經變遷與企業文化」國際學術研討會，2004 年 12 月 15 日至 17 日。

77 Julia C. Huang, "Recapturing Charisma: Emotion and Rationalization in a Globalizing Buddhist Movement from Taiwan" (Ph. D. thesis, Boston University, 2001); Robert P. Weller, *Alternate Civilities: Democracy and Culture in China and Taiwan* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999).

78 Goodman, *Native Place, City, and Nation*, p. 122.

Appendix 1 – Account of 1920 Taizhou Flood in *The North-China Herald*

"The Typhoon at Haimen 海門"
From a Correspondent

Haimen, July 18 (1920)

...At 6 p.m. on Thursday (July 15), the outer wall of the Yung An 永安 Steamship Co.'s building blew in, and at 8 p.m. the town was invaded by a tidal wave which at that time was only about 18 inches deep, but which rapidly increased to a depth of five feet even in the back streets...

From 8 p.m. onwards it is difficult to obtain a collected account of what actually occurred. It was undoubtedly a scene of terrible distress and chaos, sampans floating up streets, houses falling, strong walls collapsing, screams of drowning men, cries of little children and women imprisoned in falling masonry, the dead and drowning drifting hither and thither, and no one to retrieve the dead or succor the drowning...

It is impossible to estimate as yet the casualties, as so many bodies will have been taken out to sea on the receding tide...[79]

This calamity has, it seems to me, hit the people in an exact ratio to their wealth, as such happenings very often do. The wealthier classes lived farthest from the river and so got off the lightest, while the shop-keepers had part of their buildings destroyed and lost part of their stock in trade, but the really poor who lived in straw huts along the river front and in the neighboring villages lost usually their all. Their houses were swept away or collapsed, very often burying the family beneath. It is usually the children's bodies which are found amongst this wreckage.

It would take too long to recount the many pathetic sights which are so very common. In one instance, the body of a dead fisherman is exposed for friends to claim him. In another, wreckage of houses is being removed and the father and

[79] The report goes on to tally 700 deaths, with damage estimated at $1,000,000.

mother are standing anxiously expecting to find the bodies of their two missing little ones. Time goes on, all the wreckage is removed and no babies are found. Hope gathers again in their hearts; perhaps after all they have escaped. But the hope is a false one; someone opens a cupboard still in good repair and finds the two little bodies inside. The poor mother is led away hopelessly mad while the father gathers his children and places them tenderly in rough wooden cases. Perhaps he will be able to afford a coffin but probably not. Where is the money for a coffin to come from when everything is gone?

Another picture: a very old woman has lost her two sons. There is no one in all the world to care for her now, she can only pray that death will take her quickly.

Believe me, my masters, this is a very hard country for the very poor. You and I make our living out of it; can't we do something for it?

(*The North-China Herald*, July 24, 1920, p. 218)

Appendix 2
Membership of the Association of Shanghai's Taizhou Natives (1920)

職別	姓名	號名	籍貫	貢獻	獎榮	參與1929年救災活動
正會長	朱珮珍	葆三	黃巖			
副會長	章侵	一山	甯海	代理會長，總持賑務最爲出力	聲明不願受獎姑存姓名以示紀念	1929
副會長	許桂雲	霞標	天台	發起賑務熱心協理	已故應請給予匾額以榮身後	
理事	姚桐豫	吾剛	臨海	主任賑務並充赴京請願代表	聲明不願受獎姑存姓名以示紀念	1929
理事	張連勝	丹庭	黃巖	協理賑務切實籌款	請給獎章；曾受陸軍部一等獎章	
理事	徐樂堯	聘耕	黃巖	協理賑務並充赴京請願代表	聲明不願受獎姑存姓名以示紀念	
文牘	劉文玠	山農	黃巖	發起賑務有功筆舌	請給獎章	
文牘	金文治	伯涵	溫嶺			
會計	張孟定	孟定	黃巖	發起賑務綜核收支	請給獎章	1929
庶務	王寅恭	寅生	黃巖			
書記	羅兆鰲	甘餘	江西南城			
書記	徐康樂	常甫	黃巖			
交際	徐賢昌	賢昌	黃巖			
	譚燊	楚堂	黃巖			
	張達仁	兼奄	天台			1929
	方渠	庚甫	黃巖	主辦賑務勤勞卓著	請給獎章	1929
	韓伯屏	伯屏	黃巖			
	王作彬	菊卿	黃巖			
	王子謙	子謙	黃巖			
	楊伯藩	伯藩	黃巖			1929
	金尙說	苑秋	黃巖			
	孫江	渭臣	甯海			

	陳鴻來	洛泉	溫嶺			
	王丙	炳生	黃巖			
	王雲程	雲程	仙居			
	朱一鳴	一鳴	仙居			
	葛濤	禮泉	臨海			1929
	王益韶	益韶	甯海			
	章疇	九芝	黃巖			
	丁旭東	旭東	臨海			1929
駐京代表	朱文劭	劼丞	黃巖	發起旅京浙江籌賑會成績卓著	請給獎章；現任江蘇賑務廳長曾受三等嘉禾勛章	
	王亮	希尹	黃巖	發起旅京浙江籌賑會成績卓著	請給獎章	
	俞樹棻	遜蓀	黃巖	求援旅京同鄉集有巨款	已故應請給予匾額以榮身後	
駐杭代表	喻長霖	志韶	黃巖	協理主任並充工賑工會會長	聲明不願受獎姑存姓名以示紀念	1929
	楊桂欽	紹庭	寧波	協理賑務奔走杭滬勤勞較著	請給獎章	
臨海縣調查員	王爰斯	宜齋	臨海			
黃巖縣調查員	盧世儀	洛平	黃巖			
溫嶺縣調查員	金秉理	次齊	溫嶺			
甯海縣調查員	葉頌賢	雲書	甯海			

Appendix 3 – Membership of the Association for Emergency Relief (1929)

發起人

關炯之、焦樂山、聞蘭亭、方液仙、項琴瑄、陳雲卿、褚慧僧、朱子謙、李馥蓀、王東園、楊伯藩、嚴蒼山、張暄初、董杏蓀、胡孟嘉、倪文卿、王如心、潘祝封、呂戴之、袁履登、顧貽穀、葉增壽、張雲卿、任薰甫、蔣伯器、陸伯鴻、宋漢章、樂振保、孔芸海、丁旭東、許靜仁、金潤泉、趙晉卿、姚慕蓮、章一山、黃申夫、釋諦閒、杜月笙、盧澗泉、斐雲卿、喻志韶、金達三、葉玉虎、汪伯奇、陳健菴、劉鴻生、孔芸生、張翰廷、王儒堂、謝蘅牕、貝淞蓀、項松茂、方賡甫、李惠人、陳藹士、俞葉封、葉揆初、祝伊材、於毅卿、葛醴泉、黃金榮、席雲生、吳蘊齊、孫梅堂、張秉菴、羅廉臣、張嘯林、黃瑞生、秦潤卿、李覲丹、洪謀九、張韻洲、史量才、朱燮臣、劉翰怡、李永裳、張孟定、許柳春

主席委員

王一亭、孫慕韓、虞洽卿

常務委員

王曉籟、丁桂樵、黃涵之、顧馨一、李雲書、屈文六、林康侯、姚吾岡

Appendix 4
Prefaces to the *Reports of the Association of Shanghai's Taizhou Natives*

序

吾台去歲水災、海嘯、山洪，與次並發，爲百餘年來未有之浩劫，於是旅滬同鄉立「急賑會」，奔告呼號，乞糴募捐，爲台民請命。同時本郡亦設「勸賑會」於台，旅杭同鄉設「籌賑會」於杭，而省中大吏及會稽道尹，皆竭力營救，同賑災黎於水火之中。官紳協和，民乃有瘳，逮於今春，歲則大熟，台民於是有更生之慶。滬會諸君子爰刻徵信錄，索眾一言，昔曾子固〈越州救災記〉，述□荒之道，委曲纖悉，並無災殄之行，治民亦能使之□，而能爲之備。民病而後圖之，與夫先事而爲計者有間，謀爲探本之論，然臨事而圖之，此當爲之備，使災民不至流離失所，而轉於溝壑，亦焦頭爛額不得己〔已〕之策也。茲錄之刻，匪以旁觀者能嘖其勞，俾知救荒無善策。去歲奇災，民或食草根雜糠秕啜之，官紳同心協力，摩頂放踵，纓冠以救，而民困僅以稍蘇。推其效之所至，抑但救死扶傷，俾顛〔？〕無告之民，不至挺〔鋌〕而走險斯已耳。設令處之不得其當，拯之不盡其力，則百姓之流離九死，更不知若何景象也。抑余乃重有感。有明之季，天災流行，各省饑饉，盜賊蠡起，大亂作而明已亡。今南省水災，北五省赤地數千里，災象不減明季，乃人不悔禍，而軍閥、政客、偉人、亂黨、流氓，狼顧鴟張，日鋸乎厲爪以朘民膏血，循是不改，而至釀來獻、闖之亂不止。此余所以因敘是錄，而不禁掩淚長號，爲之痛哭流涕者、太息者也。歲在重光作噩，律中夷則之月，黃蠡〔巖〕喻長霖。

序

庚申之歲，養痾滬上，適故鄉以災祲告，許霞標長者議賙卹，與邦人之僑於此者，醵貲以倡，予迫於桑梓之義，勉襄其事。自維羞澀，無涓埃之助，呼籲所得，亦復有限，但行其心之所不忍而已。是役也，喻志韶太史、林蔚生、朱葆三觀察、張丹亭統領、徐聘耕、王希尹少將、張靜軒統戎、朱劼丞廳長、

楊紹庭大令、劉山農徵軍，皆與有力，而尤賴章一山左丞，奮踔提挈，浙中耆老，皆義形於色，同聲相應，宣導疾苦，無遠弗屆。邦人君子，大都盡瘁，奔告不避勞怨。長官之賢者，則有會稽黃涵之道尹，整飭有司，疏瀹德道，用能泛舟移粟，嘉惠窮簷，以挽茲百年來未有之奇劫。一歲之中，冬春當賑，勞來安集，功德在人，予何有爲，予何有爲。嗟乎！民國改元而還，政失其軌，天降厥凶，饑饉荐臻，餓殍相望，四海旌騷，不遑寢處父母之邦，亦既離家十年矣。天下興亡，匹夫有責，一鄉一邑之安危，疇昔未嘗過問，此其偶然者耳。況於茲事，無秋毫之福哉，急賑會竣，略述數語，以告歉矣。臨海姚桐豫識。

Appendix 5 – Prefaces to *Extraordinary Disasters in Taizhou, Zhejiang*

序

同人等前往因浙台屬連遭鉅災，受患慘酷，爲歷來所未有，不得已組織本會，勉爲災民請命。所有種種情狀，業於前啓縷述，成立以來，蓋已三月於茲矣，奔走呼號，聲嘶力竭，幸各方善士憫此哀鴻，慨加援手，指困解橐〔囊〕，源源而來，救垂涸之枯魚肉、將埋之白骨。急冬兩賑，除「濟生會」、「浙江賑務會」撥款接濟不計外，就本會捐款項下支付者，計撥辦臨海、海鄉、及甯海東南鄉，急賑銀圓壹萬三百九十二元四角九分，撥請「濟生會」代放。臨海、甯海兩縣冬賑，銀元二萬元。又購辦全屬冬賑棉衣袴、棉背心，計銀元六千元。購辦麵粉、蠶豆、白米等，計銀元二萬六千元。此外，直接新捐入棉衣袴一千二百三十套，舊棉衣五千四百八十件，絨線衫二千三百件，通計已及六萬餘元。當此連年烽火之餘，復值遍地災祲之際，仰荷遠近仁者纓冠，急難不分畛域，八方功德水，滙成萬頃恩波，千佛燈光，照徹九幽尫瘠，勇施宏願，感佩何涯。同人等謹爲全台災民百拜叩謝，惟以台屬幅幘之廣、生齒之繁，實與杭嘉湖三舊府屬比較，尙有過之，而土地澆确，論其出產，殆不逮百分之一，即令常歲豐稔，尙不足以自給，地勢負山，瀕海成斜坡形，稍晴則高地若旱，略雨則窪地已淹。因此民九以還，積年盡成荒歉，居民之蓋藏久空，雀鼠之羅掘早盡。今復遭此奇災，水旱風蟲，更迭並至。如久病之夫，更攖暴疾，潰癰之上，復受重創。哀此孑遺，何以堪此！迭據災地官民，及查放急賑冬賑人員，實地攝影報告，幾於目不忍覩、口不忍讀、不信天威如斯降虐，方知地獄即在人間。雖義漿仁粟之頻來，奈積困沉災之過甚，沛甘霖於六月，雨甫過而土壤隨乾，挹蠡勺於三江，雖劬而滋濡有限，非賴有不息長流之勢，終莫竟救人須澈之功。現狀已至如此，過此則山愈窮而水愈盡，火益熱而水益深。轉眴東作將興，若不舉辦春賑，接濟耕糧種子，則目前之殘喘難延，來歲之生機復絕。台屬六邑男女老幼，勢必盡爲道殣，沉之萬劫，永淪墟墓而後已，思之慘目，言之痛心。

現在百萬生靈嗷嗷待命，所有一絲生路，唯有仰賴慈航，茲謹將台屬前後災狀，彙編成冊，附以影片，伏懇海內外仁人君子，推同胞同與之心，作已〔己〕溺己饑之想，憫茲胥盡，解此倒懸，少則節衣食之餘，勺米銖金，亦足活人一命；多則斥庫儲所，羨廣仁市義，定將種德千年。已施者勿並其無厭，善無止境；未惠者隨緣而量力，福有初基。請披鄭俠之圖，恐觸目都生惻隱，如造須彌之塔，欲合總仗慈悲。慕韓琦等又啓。

上海台災急賑會乞賑緣起

浙江台屬，環天台山麓，負山瀕海，號稱佛國。然貧瘠殊甚，重岡複嶺，交錯綿百，故多山而少田。海邊之地，又多窪下，近海沮洳，積雨患水，則海鄉荒；近山磽确，慾暘患旱，則山鄉荒。以此六屬，農殖罕有全稔，彼歉此豐，互相挹注，民食猶苦不給。幸地當溫帶，歲常數熟，麥荒則望之稻，稻荒則望之荳，荳荒則猶可望之雜糧，以故雖尠大豐之年，亦無全歉之歲，雜茹草糗，僅可資生。上年前年歉量過度，居民已多菜色；不意今歲復遭奇災，自夏徂秋，始而旱、繼而蟲、又繼而烈風暴雨。臨海、黃巖、溫嶺、甯海四縣，田禾折損，顆粒無收，番蕷包粟，種種雜糧，亦復悉成稿〔槁〕腐。天〔台〕、仙〔居〕兩縣，本來仰給鄰境，今則來源已絕，更無餘望。災區之廣，災象之深，災患之稠疊，皆為歷來所未有。況值連年荒災之後，又遭闔境普遍之殃，哀鴻嗷嗷，何以存活？現在連村比屋，儼如洗刮一空，即至草根樹皮，亦已羅掘垂盡。有扶老攜幼出外遊荒者，有全家上下服毒自戕者，餓莩載塗，哭泣盈野，目不忍睹，耳不忍聞。轉瞬節屆嚴寒，凍餒交加，益復不堪設想。同人等或皈依〔天〕台宗，或旅處滬濱，或親歷災區，或居連近地，既聞見之較，確實寢饋以難安。爰於十一月四日，集議成立「急賑會」。假上海六馬路雲南路「仁濟堂」為會所。本會宗旨，以義賑補官賑之不足，其第一步辦法，即在購運衣糧，分途接濟，免使數百萬遺黎，塡委溝壑，其餘關係賑務事宜，亦擬次第辦理。深虞綿力無補鉅災，惟念我佛慈悲，夙以普救眾生為大願，況乃人心好善，詎乏卹憐急難之同情，在梵門施法施財，難得福田之廣，種論公義，已〔己〕飢已〔己〕

溺，應期衽席之同登。伏望海內外各大慈善家，憫斯慘狀，慨解仁囊，多收一文款，即多救一分命；集腋可以成裘，聚沙不難成塔。捐款交到，隨時掣給收條，分批登報鳴謝。所集賑款，立即轉解災區，散放急賑，務令蔀屋窮檐，同沾實惠，雲天高誼，不啻身受。謹啓。

Map 1 =“民國 9 年台州災區”

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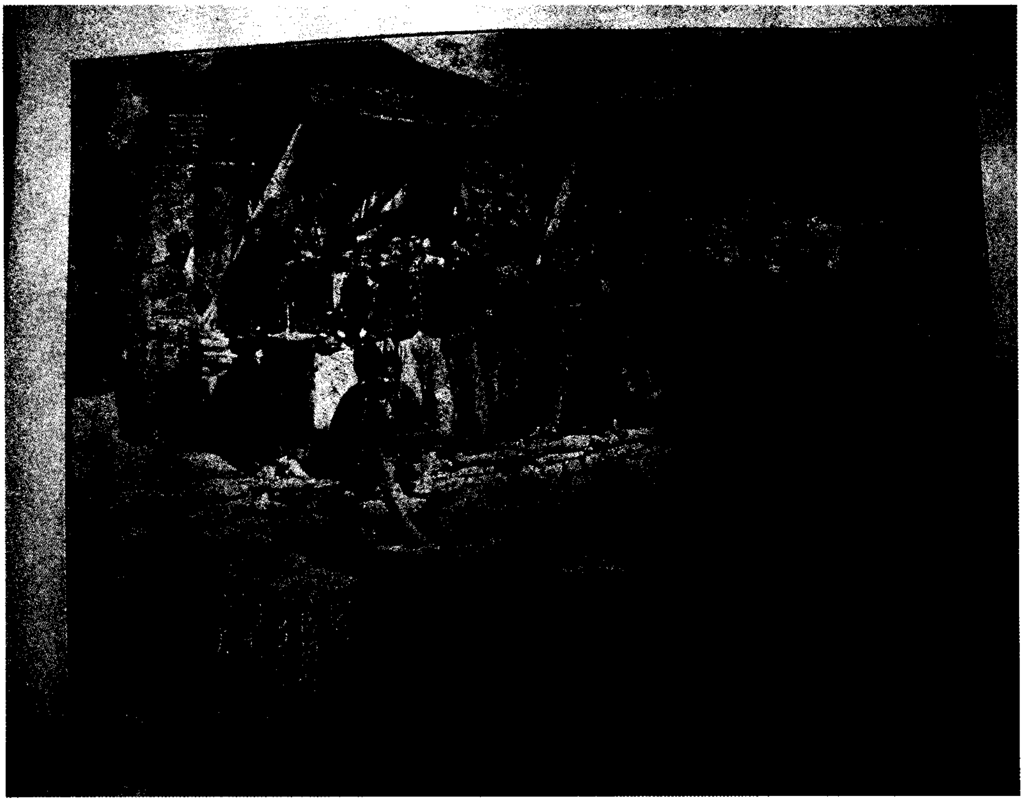
Figure 1 = "風災難民"



Source:《浙江台屬奇災》(1929)，浙江省圖書館古籍部善本書。

Figure 2 = "風災過後"

Source: 潘深亮主編，《海上名家繪畫》（香港：商務印書館，1997）。

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